# THE IDEA of His Highneſs OLIVER, LATE LORD PROTECTOR, &c.

## With certain brief Reflexions on His Life.

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TO
HIS HIGHNESS
*RICHARD*,
Lord Protector, &c.

My Lord,

*THose who write Books ought to have more regard to their leisures who read them, then to their own in writing them; this makes me so short in writing this unto your* Highnesse, *which so declares (in passing) the life and actions of your* Highnesse *Father (of glori-*

ous memory) as there is ſcarce any remarkable paſſage in his life, which if it touches not, it points not at, at leaſt; a ſubject which I am ſo far from elevating above its height, as all my forces can ſcarcely ſuſtain its weight; nor did this deter me from undertaking it, muchleſs the enemies I undertook war againſt in writing it.

For the war of Pens continues longer then the war of Swords, and grows commonly more ſharp and cruel after death, until time gives the deciding blow at laſt, and fame alwayes determines it

for

*for the conquering ſide: Mean time his* Fame *has two Enemies to provide againſt; the* Enemies *of his party, & the* Enemies *of his perſon. The firſt ſo noble, it honors* vertue *even in an Enemy; the laſt ſo baſe, as it calumniates it in all, and againſt theſe chiefly I undertake this war; neither is the* Age, *then* Vertue, *leſs concern'd in it; for whilſt every one judges according to their own affections and inclinations; and the young interpret all to* Vitiouſneſs, *as the old all to* Intereſt, Policy, *and* Ambition: *we ſhall (in time) need a* Dictionary *for* Acti-

ons

ons *as well as* Words, *or elſe the Language of* Truth *will be wholly loſt, and* Poſterity *well may doubt whe'r there ever were any ſuch thing as* Vertue *and* Honeſty *in the* Age. *To vindicate and clear it from which Aſpertion, I have writ this Treatiſe, to let* Poſterity *know, that as there wanted not ſome in this Age to do brave and noble things, ſo there wanted not others to celebrate and honour them.*

*And this* Fame *'tis which is the better life of all Heroick perſons; for ſhort is the ſpace they live in their*

*Bodies*

*Bodies here, but immenſe that they live hereafter in their* Fames; *which life, only writers can beſtow; nor can* Time *hang more plummets on their feet to weigh them down unto* oblivion, *then writers pens add wings unto their* Fames *to raiſe them up again; to which, if mine may add any thing amongſt the reſt, it will be rather my glory, then any addition unto his:*

*But I forget, and deſtroy with one hand what I would build up with tother, in being ſo long in the* Epiſtle *whilſt I intend brevity in the work. I end then my Lord,*

*with*

The Epistle, &c.

*with the profession and protestation of being always*

Your Highness

Most humble Servant, and

most obedient Subject.

*Rich. Fleckno.*

# PROEMIUM
## TO THE
# *IDEA.*

*AN Idea is a Creature of the mind. In the Artificer it regards the future; but in the Writer, both the present and passed time. It is not the matter, but the form; nor the body, but the spirit and quintesence. It is more in substance then in bulke; and gives you flowers, not simply, but Alembeck't and distill'd; and Gold, not in the Or, but purified and refin'd. Such an Abstract Essence I give you of his Highness,* Oliver *late Lord Pro-*

tector; on whose life I make no other Reflections, then as we doe on Pictures excellent well design'd, remarking onely the Proportions in generall, without examining each Lineament in particular. Expect of me then no circumstances of time, place, nor persons; that is for those who write the Annales and Hiltory of his life. I onely write his Elogiums, they shew you the things he did; I, the man who did these things.

Mean time, I undertake a work (I know) displeasing and ungratefull to the multitude, naturally envious and malicious; and more taken with one Satyr then twenty Elogiums; pleas'd rather with the imperfections then perfections of men. Like Flies, leaving sound places to light on sores; and such venomous ones, as they even render sound places soar with their fly-blowing them. Yet this

in

*in ſpight of* envy *and* malice *Ile ſay of him, That a Greater and more Excellent perſonage has no where been produc't by this latter Age; nor (perhaps) in our Nation by any former ones. And if men anciently have been judged fit for Empire onely for the Greatneſſe of their bodies; He certainly was moſt fit for it, for the Greatneſs of his mind.*

*But Great men, like Great Saints, muſt die ere they are Canoniz'd. Living, men are buſied with conſidering their faults: but dead, they have leyſure to ſumme their vertues up. As for his (for the preſent) Ile ſay no more, but only if we may judge of* Hercules *force by the maſſiveneſs of his club, we may wel judge how mighty a man he was, by his wielding three Kingdomes ſo eaſily as he did. In alteration of whoſe Government, this we may truly ſay,*

*all that was ill and blameable in the beginning and heat of prosecution, was done by others; all that was good and laudible, perform'd and atchieved by him.*

*But of this* Strangers *and* Posterity *best can judge. For if none can judge well in cases whereof themselves are parties, none are competent Judges of those who govern them. And this I'm sure will be the judgment of* Posterity, *that those are rather Envious who praise him not, then Flatterers who do.*

THE

# THE IDEA

## Of his Highneſs

# OLIVER

## late Lord PROTECTOR.

AS we look on the heads of great Rivers with Reverence, whilſt we ſcarce regard the ſources of ſhallow Brooks; ſo we look on the births of Great Perſons, ſcarcely regarding the Origin of leſſer ones.

OF HIS BIRTH & PARENTAGE.

To begin then with his Birth and Parentage. He was born of the Ancient Family of the *Williams*'s, and Adopted into the noble Family of the *Cromwels*. But

But whilſt others derive him from *Principalities*, I will derive his *Principality* from him, and onely ſay he was born a *Gentleman*. A name ſo fully comprehending all that's great and noble, as whoſoever would make him more, ſhould make him leſs.

A *Gentleman*, is one who takes his denomination from his *Gentility* and Deſcent, lying level in birth to the higheſt degree of *Nobility*. And as his *Deſcent* differences him from the *vulgar*; ſo by their *Aſcents* he only differs from the *Nobility*, who are rather higher, then better then he. Whence Princes are rather the *Fountaneers* then *Fountains* of honour, and rather Artificers of the Channel, then Authors of the ſource; ſince without violencing Nature,

they cannot derive men higher then their first Origin, or Fountain-head. *Nobility* then ads but little to the *Gentleman*, but the *Gentleman* much unto the *man*. Nor do titles of honour, and degrees of Nobility, more advantage a worthy Gentleman, then degrees of the University do an excellent Scholler; they rather declaring what he is, then making of him so. Whilst he rather honours his degrees, then his degrees honour him.

But since *Birth* and *Parentage* without *Education* are like land without culture, but barren & infructuous, the force & vertue of *Education* being such, as *man* who is a mixt creature of *Angel* and *Beast*, may be exalted by *Education* to the *Nobility* of the one, or depress to the *ignobility* of the other for want of

OF HIS EDUCATION.

of it. It follows, we ſpeak of his *Education* next.

He was bred a Schollar in the Univerſity, where, during his youth, he gave the firſt Eſſay of that Admirable vivacity of ſpirit, profoundneſſe of judgment, and indefatigable induſtry, which afterwards inform'd all the Actions of his life.

Learning is (as 'twere) another ſoul, animating our minds juſt as our ſouls do our bodies. It is a ſecond *Nobility*, purifying the minde as *Nobility* does the blood. 'Tis the only purge of vice & ignorance, without wch none are wiſe nor vertuous but by chance; and of all knowledges the moſt excellent, as teaching us the knowledge of all other things.

But *ne quid nimis* is the *motto* of a Gentleman, whom it becomes

comes to know every thing, but make a Trade of nothing. Whence 'tis as great an errour never to apply them to Learning, as alwayes to apply the to't. The Univerſity is a noble Seminary, where young plants receive their firſt growth and nurriture; but they muſt be tranſplanted ere they produce their fruit. It is an excellent ſeaſoning of youth: but as in vain we ſeaſon veſſels unleſs we infuſe ſome better and more profitable liquors into them afterwards, ſo 'twere an idle action to imbue youth with Letters, unleſs they afterwards receive the Tincture of ſome better and more profitable Literature, and paſs from ſtudying books, to ſtudy men. Letters are but like paſtimes, the buſineſs of youth, but the idleneſs of Age; and application

to

to books as barren and infructuous in those who learn only to learn: as idle Gallants application to their Mistresses, who make Love only to make Love. This wisely considered, he made them his business, and apply'd himself no longer to them then till he had attained to riper years. When he retir'd home from the University just as men do from plenteous feasts, the better to digest the nourishment they have receiv'd, before they apply themselves to action: when he soon declared by the effect, that as there is none more unfit for action then a crude Schollar, so there is none fitter then a well digested one.

But fortune or better providence was long in providing that Action they intended to imploy him in. Nor is it probable

able they had provided it so soon, had they not found so fit an Agent to be imployed.

OF HIS PRIVATE FORTUNES.

Mean time for his private Fortunes, they were but justly competent and suitable to what the *Royal Prophet* prayed for when he said *Divitias nec paupertatem dederis mihi*, Give me neither too great *riches* nor *poverty*; but only a *mediocritie* betwixt both; most consistant with *vertue*; and where *vertue* doth most consist, too great *Riches* but exalting a mind too much, as too great *Poverty* but too much depresses it. T'on blunting the edge of wit and industry, tother by its hardship whetting it quite away.

But as too strait and narrow minds miserably contract themselves within their Fortunes, as too vast and large as far dilate themselves beyond it.

it. So his minde was too great and high to be contain'd within the narrow limits of his Estate; but it was still breaking forth, till the same Fortune or better providence provided him with an Estate (at last) proportionable to the greatness of his minde; when he might well glory that he had learnt that Art, which the *Apostle* glories in so much, *Scio abundare & penuriam pati*, to know both how to want & to abound. The wise wisely accompting those miserablest of all, who never knew what belongd to misery.

OF HIS MARIAGE.

During this Time he married into an honourable Family, and had hopeful and numerous issue by his Wife.

And now fortune began to dispose him for Regiment (the Government of a Family having a certain *Analogy* with the Go-

Government of a Commonwealth) and now she began to make him a member of that body of which he was afterwards to be the Head.

The unmarried are no more members of a Commonwealth, then our accidental parts are members of our bodies: they are but Lay-worldlings, only the married take orders in the world; and who have Wife and children, give pledges to their Country of their fidelity, whilst it hath no security of the rest. With good reason then the *Romans* gave *Jus trium Liberorum*, or particular honors and priviledges to those who were married & had children, esteeming them only born for the Commonwealth, whilst the others seem'd only born unto themselves; and accounting the married only Citizens, whilst

whilſt thoſe who lived in wild Celebat were but as ſtrangers and paſſengers in the world.

In all which capacities and relations of Father, good Patriot, and member of the Commonwealth, he lookt upon himſelf, and ſhortly after was lookt upon by his Country, when in one of the celebrous't Elections of the Land, he was choſen member of *Parliament* (a place of higheſt truſt and confidence) only in regard of his great abilities of minde, whilſt many of greater Fortunes, ſtood for the Election and were refuſed.

OF HIS BEING CHOSEN MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

'Tis a great happineſs for the Commonwealth, when men of publick ſpirits are imploy'd in publick buſineſſes. Thoſe who are of any particular faction, intereſt, or opinion, indeavouring (ſtill) to draw all

all to the ſame intereſt, faction, and opinion with themſelves: Whence conſequently the Kingdom becomes miſerably torn and diſmemberd: And you know who ſayes, *Omne Regnum in ſe diviſum deſolabitur*, Every Kingdom divided in it ſelf ſhall be deſtroy'd. So important and neceſſary for the conſerving a State intire, is the concord and unity of its parts among themſelves.

In this *Parliament* that fire at length burſt forth, which had been long ſecretly a kindling, and now was as impoſſible to be quencht, as that of *Rome* was in former times, when thoſe who ſhould have quencht it, were the chief Incenters of the Flame, and now they concur'd on all hands to that fatal diviſion, which wholly ſeparated *King* and *Parliament*, when he,

as

as a member of the House, took part with that body of which he was a member.

What other motives he had of siding with the *Parliament*, I know not. Whether he counted it more Noble and Generous to take part with the weaker side, and more charitable to assist those he imagin'd most oppress; or 'twas purely his piety and godliness, the publique sins of tother side (in outward shew at least) appearing more great and numerous then those of theirs; and *qui putant se obsequium præstare Deo*, who imagine they fight for *God*, never scruple to fight against their *King*.

However, it had been happy for the *King* had he fill'd his Court rather with such men as he, neither hopes could perswade to the deserting of their

their ſide, nor fear of danger nor death it ſelf affright, then with ſuch as moſt of his Courtiers were; men who durſt hazard nothing for an honeſt cauſe, who at firſt ſight of danger, compounded with it, perſwaded by their fears, and rather then venture their lives, betrayed their honeſties; verifying that vulgar ſaying, that *he who is not valiant can never be an honeſt man.*

But 'tis their common Fates and Errors to imploy none but ſuch who thruſt themſelves upon them, commonly the unworthieſt of all (impudent forwardneſs only ſupplying the place of worth in them) whilſt the more worthy are neglected and unimployed, only becauſe they are modeſter then the reſt. This the late *King* dearly experien't,

who, whilſt he was abandon'd and betraid by thoſe whom he moſt truſted & oblig'd, found many ſtanding for him in time of need, whom he had never oblig'd by any Favours; but many more againſt him, whom he had diſoblig'd by his diſfavouring them.

What other obligations or diſobligations he had to either ſide, I know not: but this I know, never any more oblig'd a Side, nor better ſerv'd the *Parliaments* then he; nor will I determine who took the better ſide, but I'm ſure he took the more fortunate, or made it ſo.

For ſpeaking in the Houſe, he had a ſtrong and maſculine Eloquence, more able to perſwade more he was perſwaded of what he ſaid. His Expreſſions hardy, Opinions reſolute,

Aſſe-

Asseverations grave and vehement, his Sentences weighty, alwaies intermixt with sentences of Scripture, to give them the greater weight; with which he so governd & swayd the House, as he had alwayes the leading voice: compar'd to which, the following ones were only as cyphers, in comparison of numbers.

Those who finde no such wonders in his Speeches, may finde it in the effect. I have read speeches that have workt strange effects, and you would wonder at their plainness, whilst others you would wonder at their eloquence, have produc't no effect at all. 'Tis not the spirit of the thing thats spoke, that gives it its force and energy, but of him who speaks it; as 'tis not the sword but arm gives force unto the

blow. The people were enemies to book-learning, and whosoever should endeavour with an Eloquent Oration to reconcile them, and make them friends, should make them their enemies too. And they were great Adorers of the Scripture phrase, which made him usurp it so frequently as he did. Mean time *Cicero*, nor *Demosthenes*, with all their Tropes and Figures, could never have so perswaded and mov'd the people, as he with one Text of Scripture aptly apply'd to purpose of what he said.

But talking in time of Action, being but an inferiour kind of maintaining a side; he, who alwayes aspir'd to the most sublime, the Wars once declared, soon quitted the House, and betook him to the Field,

HOW HE BETOOK HIMSELFE TO THE MILITIÆ.

to

to manifeſt his courage as well as eloquence, and maintain by deeds what by words he had perſwaded them.

Neither ſhewd he his courage more then wiſedome in't; for though the *reward* of thoſe who guard the camp, be equal unto theirs who fight i'th field, yet the *honour* is not ſo; which uſually followes the greateſt danger, neither is that followd with *Envy* as tothers is. Men imagining that *Honour* we venture for in the field, with hazard of our lives, bought at the higheſt price, whilſt thoſe who purchaſe it without danger at home, have it at too cheap a rate.

Beſides, 'tis an Authority of a higher kind, the comanding in the Field, then voting in the Houſe; and begets far other ſpirits and greater thoughts.

Theſe

Theſe only imagining they command both Army and General, when in effect the General who commands the Army, commands both it and them; and they finde at laſt that they give but iron to make ſhackles for their feet, whoſoever gives weapons to arm the ſoldiers hands.

This your Polititians, men wiſer then the Truth, who are all *Linxes*, looking into paſſed times, and *moles* looking into the future, would have him to have foreſeen from the beginning, never conſidering how all things in this world being in perpetual revolution, tis impoſſible from the beginning to ſee the end of things; beſides, that which is ones end, is but anothers meanes to the attaining his: Onely there are certain *periods* of things,

things, and who has the carrying of them on when they are next that *period*, is alwayes accounted moſt happy and fortunate.

But to declare how he paſs'd through all degrees of the *Militia*.

Reſolv'd to build his Fortunes on the Wars, he would not raiſe the building without foundation, nor make himſelf *Colonel* without being *Soldier* firſt, as many did (and conſequently in ſhort time their honors in the warres fell to all ground) but the higher he intended to raiſe the Edifice, the deeper he diggd for the foundation, beginning not only with *ſimple Captain*, but to perfect his experiences deſcending even to the duty and condition of *common ſoldier*, none lodging, not faring harder,

HOW HE WAS CAPTAIN FIRST.

er, nor going plainer nor meaner clad then he; indefatigable in labour, exemplar in discipline, humble and obedient to command; first on all occasions of exercising his valour, yet valiant not rash, the Army being no place for single bravery, farther then the bravery of one might encourage all the rest. By this means gaining the love and affections of all, whilst he yielded to none in doing praise-worthy things, but unto all the praise of doing them, whilst he was modest and patient, and sought not the meanest honours nor preferments, he was esteem'd by all worthy of the highest ones.

HOW HE WAS MADE COLONEL.

These were his Arts whilst under-Officer, till advanc't higher unto *Colonel*, he differd in nothing from private Captain still, but only in his greater

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er care and diligence, and greater occaſions he had to ſerve the ſide, which in ſhort time conceav'd that opinion of him, as it believd it could be ſervd by none better then by him. When never any occaſion there was but *He* and his Regiment were commanded forth, whilſt managing all thoſe occaſions to the greateſt advantage of his Honour, he alwayes perform'd his Actions in the publique eye of all, whence he had alwayes the publique approbation of all he did, for want of which many brave Actions had been loſt. For painted battels in nothing more reſemble real ones, then that in either a few heads appear, the reſt darkly ſhadowed and undiſtinguiſhed, remain undiſcern'd in the confuſed crowd.

The

The Fame of his Actions arriving at the Houſe, they imagined they could not goe leſs in recompencing them, then firſt to beſtow on him the Generalſhip of the Horſe, and afterwards the Lieutenant-Generalſhip of all the Militiæ.

HOW HE WAS MADE LIEVTENANT GENERAL OF THE ARMY.

This only encourag'd him to do more bravely, not to go more bravely, as it would have many others. Honours in this reſembling *Viands*, that as one is the aliment of the body, ſo the other is of gallant minds, rendring them ſtill more active and vigorous: And as t'on in ſickly bodies turnes only to diſeaſes and crudities, ſo to ther in unworthy minds are converted only to pride & vanity, whilſt to grow healthier and humbler with either, ſhews the excellencie of their Tempers and Conſtitutions.

But

But now the more he endeavoured to ſerve his Side, he hazarded his perſon leſs, conſidering it thereafter more the Publiques then his own, and more detriment to the publick then himſelf, the loſs of it.

'Tis a great errour in thoſe who command in chief, to hazard their perſons, and expoſe their lives on every ſlight occaſion; as if twere more glorious to fight then to command, whereas that is only the vertue of a Common ſoldier, this of the Leader, whoſe principal Talent lies more in direction then execution; more in the brain, then hand. It goes ill with an Army when the General is enforc't to fight, in whoſe perſon not only the ſafety of the Army, but often the ſafety of the State it ſelf lies all at ſtake.

Mean

Mean time not only all the hopes, but even certainties of Victory (the battel once joynd) depended on him and his *Brigade*; ſo far from ever loſing battel, as he often gaind and recoverd it when it was loſt. So as that might well be ſaid of him, what was anciently ſaid of another, that *he had done many brave things without others, but others never any without him.*

One thing that made his *Brigade* ſo invincible, was his arming them ſo well; as whilſt they aſſur'd themſelves they could not be overcome, it aſſur'd them to overcome the enemy.

The well Arm'd have the ſame advantage of the ill Arm'd in fight, as the warm cloath'd have in winter of thoſe but coldly clad; and t'on

t'on goes altogether as diſheartned to expoſe himſelf to danger, as tother to expoſe himſelf to the bleak winter air.

But the main cauſe of all was his excellent Conduct. For having experienc't how others ſpirits, furious at firſt onſet, diſſolv'd in ſweat, and tyr'd and languiſh't by degrees, he alwayes kept a freſh *Reſerve* until the laſt, to give a turn to the fortune of the day, that being the preciſe minute on which *Victory* as on hinges did depend, which depainted hovering betwixt the Armies when firſt the battels joyn, is alwayes allur'd unto that Generals ſide, who garniſhes his Lure with greateſt diligence. *Amat victoria curam.*

This made a certain modern Leader ſay, that Fortune did nothing in the wars, only the Generals ſkill and diligence did

did all. But he ſhould have rather ſaid that it was the providence of *Almighty God.*

In confidence of whoſe providence he never enter'd battel but by the port of Prayer.

THE EFFICACY OF PRAYER.

Prayer has this reſemblance with rain, that juſt as that firſt aſcends from Earth to Heaven, and afterwards comes ſhowring down from Heaven to Earth again; ſo thoſe prayers which by *Gods* grace we ſend up to him, he ever pours down agen in bleſſings on our head. 'Tis the great Artillery that violences Heaven, which muſt be rendred exorable by prayer, ere Armies can be rendred happy by victory: And in vain the *Iſraelites* lift up their hands in fight, if *Moſes* firſt lift not up his hands in prayer.

Thus entring battel in confiden ce

dence of the God of battel, he alwayes came off with victory, his ſoldiers alwayes imagining a certain *Divinity* in him, who never did any thing without firſt imploring the aid of the *Divinity*.

It has been the *policy* of divers, falſly to perſwade the people that they had a certain familiarity with *Almighty God*, and conſequently a kind of omnipotency in all they did; But it has been the Religion of more, really to ſeek a familiarity with *him* by prayer, and unite all their Actions with his omnipotence. Neither dos this their dependency on *Heaven*, any wayes ſlacken their obligations to their duties here on *Earth*; but rather renders the tye more firm and ſtrong, and themſelves more active and diligent.

To

To do all things himself, as if he had expected nothing from *God*, and then expect all from *God*, as if he had done nothing himself, was the way a certain holy person took to arrive to perfection. So after the *Apostle* had said he could do nothing of himself, he presently adds, *Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat*, that he could do all things in God who strengthened him. In imitation of whom, another holy person was wont to say, *God and I can do all things*; and if it seem presumption in him to name himself with *God*, certainty a greater presumption 'tis for *man* even to name himself without him.

This gain'd him a high reputation with the godly party in the House; and to maintain a fair correspondency with all, never

never any place was taken, nor battail wone, but He was first who gave intelligence of it to the House, by which he gained at once the good opinion both of the Parliament and General; attributing in His Letters more honour to the one then he with modesty could do unto himself, and writing his own Actions in such modest tearms to tother, as they always imagin'd him more worthy honour, the lesse he attributed unto himself.

These were his Arts whilst Lieutenant General, by which he purchast so great a name in war as *Essex*, and all those great and glorious names were swallowed up in his; just as great Rivers are swallowed up by the Ocean.

I pass over in silence those dangerous passages of State,

(about this time) becauſe he paſt them over ſo lightly as he ſcarce left the print of his footſteps behind, whilſt in all the reſt none ever left more glorious marks then he.

Whatſoever they were they goe rather on the times accompt then his; for a wiſe States-man may often opine the beſt, and yet follow the worſt opinion; nor is this weakneſs, but judgement and neceſſity, there being no greater weakneſſe then to follow ones private opinion againſt the publique vote; or in a generality to be particular.

HOW HE WAS MADE GENERAL.

How he came afterwards to be *General*, all circumſtances conſidered, is moſt remarkable, there having paſt a vote ith' Houſe that no member of it ſhould bear Office or Command i'th Army, he notwithſtanding

ſtanding by common vote of all, was preſently choſen *Generall*, ſo uſeful, or rather neceſſary he was eſteemed for that high charge, and the ſervice of the Commonwealth.

Uſeful inſtruments are often laid aſide, but neceſſary we ſtill retain in hand, and can as little be without them as our hands themſelves. Whoſoever then would be always imployd ith' State, muſt render themſelves neceſſary for the ſervice of the State; elſe ſuch is their deſire of change and variety as they will often change them onely for the pleaſure which they take in change, although for others no more uſeful then themſelves.

Some will ſay, If no Member of the Houſe was to command the Army, why was not he included amongſt the reſt?

if any, why was he excluded who commanded it, for fortune, valour, diligence and fidelity assuredly inferiour unto none?

But beside the foresaid Reason, this answer may be easily made; by this Act they intended onely to exclude the *Lords*, who now they were resolv'd to cast aside as unnecessary utencils of State; as superstitious Reliques of a Religion they had abolished, and superfluous Pillars of a Royal Pallace they had overthrown, mean while they by conspiring against the King, did just as if the Starres should conspire against the Sun who gives them light, or streams to dry up the fountain wheene they flow'd; whence consequently every Glow-worm out shin'd them now, and their swoln greatness

which

which every one feared before, was now at ſo low an ebbe as all fearleſly ſtrid over them.

This I ſpeak not with reflexion on them all, for many did what their honours obliged them to, and many what in conſcience they imagined the beſt; but though all were not equally in fault, all were equally involv'd ith puniſhment; and 'tis a kind of *original ſin* in the Nobility, whoſe ſtain will never out of their poſterity.

OF HIS ACTIONS WHILST HE WAS GENERAL.

Now *General*, he was not like thoſe Images which leſſen with their height, but the higher he was advanc't, the greater ſtill he ſhewed; and honours were to him but as fewel is to fire, the more you caſt on it you inflame it, but the more, and more vigorous and bravely active it becomes.

Expect not from me, here the narration of all his military Actions, as his conquering *Ireland*, his ſubduing *Scotland*, nor the many Battails he fought and wone till his finiſhing the war in *England*, a field ſo great, as travelling it or'e might well weary the longeſt winded *Hiſtory*, much more ſo ſhort a breath'd *Pamphlet* as mine. I'le only briefly touch his Military vertues, the ſoul that informed all thoſe actions of his.

Every common Sergeant can ſet his men in ranke and file, and every Sergeant of *Battalia* can order a *Battalion*, but every one who knows to ſet the men knowes not to play the Mate; to know his advantages and diſadvantages in War; how to improve his own and enervate the enemies force;

force; how dexterously to prevail himself of their weakness, and to elude their strengths; to know when they find them yielding, how to presse them to an overthrow, and then never permit them to rise again, nor unite in one body, having once routed them, but scatter them as the wind does dust before its face. These are the Arts of an expert General, and all these he had unto perfection.

Now overcoming his enemies with celerity when there was danger in delay; and now delaying againe when there was danger in celerity.

Who have always one manner of making war, like *Fencers*, who have always one ward or play, give main advantage to their enemies, and teach them as well to offend

them as defend themſelves; but who intervary the manner of their conduct ſtill, alwayes amuſe, perplex and diſmay the enemy, and put them quite beyond their skill and prevention.

Some times again he would ſet upon the foe and overcome them with half the numbers they brought to field, and at other times bring double their numbers to over-power them.

When preſumption renders an enemy negligent, he with few forces may be overcome; but when deſpair makes them valiant, then greater forces are requiſite to gain the victory. Mean time this is a general rule in war, to enterprize eaſie things as difficult, and difficult as eaſie; better to avoid too much deſpair or negligence in themſelves.

It is the prudent obſervation of a moderne Writer, that the ballancing our forces juſt with the enemies, has been the loſſe of many battails they might have gained, onely by putting more into the ſcale; occaſions and difficulties in war ſtill growing like our bodies; and childrens coats will "ſoon become too little for "them, unleſs we make them "bigger then their meaſures "are at firſt.

But let us paſs from the field unto the town, and take the proſpect of the Parliament, on which the eyes and attentions of all were fixt and attent, the war now finiſhed.

They fancying a preſcription perhaps as well againſt the Kingdom as the King, thought of nothing but perpetuating their reign, and were become

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by this time ſo imperious, as one might ſadly ſay of them what pleaſantly was ſaid of them in former times, that *England* now had four hundred Kings in lieu of one.

OF THE DISSOLVING THE PARLIAMENT.

As there is no greater Liberty for the Subject then the moderate Government of one, ſo there is no greater Tiranny then the immoderate Government of many; none knowing whom to obey where every one commands, nor who to pleaſe when every one is diſpleaſed with what he commands not (they always diſagreeing amongſt themſelves) to free us from which Tiranny the *Army* was as neceſſary now as were *Parliaments* to free us from the Tiranny of Kings before.

In brief, thus ſtood the caſe, that cittadel and fortreſſe of

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the peoples Liberty, being in manner fortified againſt them now, by thoſe whom they had intruſted with its cuſtody, what ſhould he the peoples *General* do? but take it in, and eject and caſt them out, far from any intention to demoliſh it, but only to man it with others more faithfully to the peoples truſt.

When ſtrait with joyfull acclamations of all he was proclaimed their *Protector* and Governour, not to leave the Commonwealth as monſtrous now without a head, as 'thad been with ſo many heads before.

HOW HE WAS MADE PROTECTOR.

And who indeed could better deſerve that title then he, who not onely protected us from our forraign and domeſtick enemies, but alſo from our ſelves, the greateſt and dangerouſt enemies of all; when

when paſſion riſes in rebellion againſt Reaſon, the multitude (whoſe liberty is madneſſe) never imagining that they are free ſo long as reaſon rules and governs them; in which caſe even their deareſt friends uſe conſtraint and force to hinder them from miſchieving others and themſelves; and for this end chiefly the *Army* was ſtill kept on foot.

OF THE HOLLAND WAR.

Though there wanted not other Reaſons, the war ſtill continuing which the Parliament had ingaged us in againſt the *Hollander*, which he ſo happily concluded and brought to end: as 'tis hard to ſay whether the war or peace he made was more honourable or advantagious to the *Engliſh* Nation; our maritine forces rendred by it formidable unto all, we abſolute and ſole maſters of the

the Sea, and every where ſovereign Arbiters of peace and war.

For the *Spaniſh* war, which next ſucceeded this, (on what motives ſo ever underta'n) the enterprize certainly was great and glorious, though the event every where anſwer'd not our expectation. OF THE SPANISH WAR.

When Princes (through diſtance of place) are forc't to hear and ſee with others ears and eyes, and act with others hands and fortunes, they never can be ſo truly inform'd of things, nor carry on the war ſo vigorouſly and fortunately, as when they ſee and hear and fight themſelves.

However, though in the *Spaniſh Indies* we fail'd of that ſucceſs was hoped for, yet if that Artificer was highly praiſed for the greatneſſe of his mind,

mind, who would have contriv'd mount *Athos* (reaching from Earth to Heaven) into one intire Statue of *Alexander* the Great, to ſhew the mightineſs of his actions; what praiſes does he deſerve of *England* who intended the erecting of the whole *Indies* into one intire Trophee of our victory, to ſhew the mightineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation! And that this had been the ſucceſs of it, had it been nigher hand, or he had had the managing of the war, we may well conjecture by the ſucceſs our Army had in *Flanders*, whether he could even intend his own eys and hands, and by Auſpice of his owne Fortune carry on the warre, untill by taking *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* (by our ſhipping as by a Bridge) he had joyned our Iſle unto the continent, and

*Brittain*

*Brittain* was no longer divided from the world, but the world was now joynd unto *Brittainy*, and we to our greater honour and advantages might make or peace or war.

*Peace* and *War* (as one wittily ſaid) beget each other in an Inceſtuous in, onely *peace* is the Legitimate chield of war, but *war* oftentimes the Illegitimate one of peace: States become rather Great then Rich by war, as they become rather Rich then Great by peace; the beſt policy (then) is to intermix them ſo, as neither the State fall into a *pluriſie* by peace, nor *Hectique* Feaver or Conſumption by war.

But wars abroad are like our natural heat, only an argument of our health and ſtrength, whilſt Civil diſſentions are like the heat of Feavers, betokening

OF THE CONSPIRACIES AGAINST HIM.

tokening ſickneſſe and infirmity; under which notion I know not whether I ſhould comprehend the private conſpiracies againſt his life and ſtate, which he prevented and ſuppreſt with ſuch temper and moderation, as whilſt the punishment extended but to few, the fear of it extended unto all: ſo far (the whilſt) from *Crueol* and *Sanguinair* (even when *cruelty* might have been accounted neceſſity) as he never cut off one member but for preſervation of all the reſt; nor let blood in one vein, but to hinder all the reſt from corruption.

The *Conſpiracies* of a known diſcontented party are eaſily prevented, becauſe they are always lookt upon with jealous eyes; they are rather ulcers then ſickneſſes of State; they

they have more of the will then ability to do harm, and are rather troubleſome then dangerous; nor are the *Conſpirators* conſiderable, but only for their inconſiderableneſs. Men of Eſtates and Fortunes always comply with the preſent times, and ſeek not (with hazard to make them worſe) to better their conditions; but men of no fortunes ſtill wiſh for the future, and having no Eſtates themſelves, are ſtill longing for the Eſtates of other men, and ſtill ſtriving to better their conditions, when (whatſoever change happens) they can't be worſe; and for ſuch as theſe 'tis with injuſtice they complain of others not obſerving the Articles of War, nor Act of Oblivion, whilſt they on their ſides obſerve not their Articles of living peaceably

under the present Government, nor casting into oblivion all former enmities.

But the Conspiracies of those who have no other cause of discontent, but onely their own unquiet dispositions, are far more dangerous, like pestilentious Feavers, hard to be seen at first, when easily prevented, and hard to be prevented at last, when easily seen; and such were the Conspiracies of some unquiet spirits in Parliament against his Government.

OF THE CONSPIRACIES AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT

It ordinarily happens that when two parties joyne in opposition against a third, the third remov'd and tan' away, the other sub-divide, but when 'tis to the advantage of their common enemy, if they understand their owne interest, they remain united still,

ſtill, and if any for their own particular intereſts ſeek to diſunite them, they look upon them as their enemy too.

Such was the caſe of the *Army* and *Parliament*, and ſuch were thoſe men who oppos'd his Government, neglecting the publique ſafety and buſineſs, only to attend to their private Animoſities, complaining they were injur'd becauſe they were ſuffred to doe no injury; and who had rather have no Government at all, then not to be the men themſelves to govern us: yet had theſe their Fautors amongſt the multitude, and were accompted Good Patriots by thoſe, who if they were wiſe would as much deteſt them now, for oppoſing one another; as they had them in veneration for oppoſing

Kings in former times, never considering that 'twas *envy* not *zeal* in them, that they would change the Gorvernment only to have the Government; that they would introduce themselves in place of others far more worthy then themselves; and (finally) that whoever should be instruments of their Ambition, should but be instruments of their own destruction.

But see the strange fates of those who govern us! before, whilst he did nothing for popularity, every thing was popular that he did; now (on the contrary) nothing was popular, though he did every thing for popularity. The same Actions are varioully interpreted; the same faces diversly lookt upon: such prestigiousness there is in Government,

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it makes the same persons hateful when Princes once, who seem'd most lovely when Subjects and private men; and the reason's clear, for none looke on those above them with equal eyes, envy fascinates them, and the people naturally Lovers of Liberty, naturally hate all who have any Dominion over them: Whence *Oderint dum metuant*, let them hate so they fear me, was the saying of a Tyrant; but *Oderint dum sine causa oderint*, let them hate me, so they hate me without a cause: this both he and every good Prince might say.

THE REASON WHY PRINCES ARE NOT BELOV'D.

But he soon prevented their machinations, and discipated their plots by dissolving the Parliament.

'Tis the best cure of malignant feavers to discipate the

humors, and great wiſedome in thoſe who contend to know their own Forces, and theirs they contend withall; the *Parliament* are enough to doe their buſineſſe by gentleneſſe, but too few to do it by force violence; and in vaine they imagine by number to carry it againſt thoſe who can leſſen their numbers when they pleaſe. Yielding is the beſt weapon of the weak againſt the ſtrong, obliging them to lay aſide their force: and indeed the beſt weapon too of the ſtrong againſt the weak, obliging them to lay their obſtinacy aſide, and either to contend in friendly courteſie: In a word, a little condeſcendency on both ſides is the beſt way to make both parts agree; as hot and cold though oppoſite in themſelves,

agree

agree together in Tepidity. Neither was there any other way of contending with him but only by gentleness, resolved rather to lose his life then reputation; as (indeed) it is the better life of Princes, since without that, their Authority is dead and gone, by which they only live and reign. But whether the Stars command us, or we command the Stars, may be a *Probleme*, as well as whether the *Suns* motion or *Earths* occasions our dayly revolutions. Certain it is, he had such a commanding *Genius* as by gentle force made every one obey; nor did he ever finde difficulty or opposition, that by avoiding or incountring he did not overcome.

In a calme every common Mariner can sit at Helm; but in a storm when the billowes

ſwell bigge and high, when horror incompaſſes them on every ſide, when they have nothing but death before their eyes, and every wave appears their Sepulchre, then onely ſuch an expert Pilot as he can to ſit at the Helm of government, who perfectly knows his Gard and Compaſs, and now by a direct courſe can cut through thoſe waves, he ſafely may incounter, and now by an oblique agen avoid the more dangerous, till in deſpight of ſeas and windes, conſpiring againſt him, he ſafely conducts his barque to the port at laſt.

And without wreſtling with theſe difficulties and oppoſitions, it might have been doubted whether Fortune or Vertue had had the greateſt ſhare in all his Actions, but now of neceſſity we muſt confeſſe

ſelfe that *virtute duce, comitante fortuna*, he had *vertue* for guide, and *fortune* for compa-nion in all he did. 'Twas Fortune that preſented him the occaſions of combatting, but vertue, that he alwayes came off with victory.

That he ſhould finde the wheel of things in ſo vehement commotion was *Fortune* ('tis true) but that (once mounted to the top) he ſhould ſtop, and fix it ſo ſuddainly as he did, appears the work of ſome more then human hand; ſo that he ſhould finde the Body and Frame oth' State all ſhatter'd in pieces, and thoſe pieces all ſcatter'd about, was Fortune too, but to recollect all thoſe ſcatter'd pieces, and compoſe them all into one intire body and frame, was ſuch a maſter-piece as none but ſo great a

Maſter

Maſter could ever have perform'd. And if we count it ſo great a happineſſe when bones are broke and ſplinter'd, to light on ſuch an excellent Surgeon as co'd ſet them right again, and apt every ſplinter to its proper place; how much more happineſſe muſt it needs be for States, when all diſjoynted and out of frame, to light on ſo excellent a Statesman as he, who co'd without maim or ſcar ſet all things right agen.

Now if we examine what had ſo disjoynted it, we ſhall find it chiefly to have beene this *Reformation* they talk ſo magnificently of, and conſequently that (though it ſeem a Paradox) nothing needs more *Reformation* then it.

OF REFORMATION.

There is nothing more ſpetious then the name of *Reformation*,

*nation*, and nothing less then the thing it self; 'tis the itch of good times, and ulcer of ill, always enemy to present Government; it has done great things, but undone greater; seeing (perhaps) some one abuse 'twould take away, but not hundreds it introduces in the place; your busie Reformers, (whether in Religion or in State) more zealous then discreet, recurring always to the contrary extremities; and finding things bent one ways, still bend them as far the other, and leave them so, till some more discreet and moderate, take up where they left them, and rectifie all agen.

But let us passe from discoursing of things without him, and come to what he was within himselfe; so shall we be ignorant of nothing, for

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to know him, is to know every thing.

It becomes the States-man's as Phiſitians care, to know the cauſes of all diſtempers; the cures of all maladies, and nature and diſpoſition of all bodies they have in cure, and all this, touching the politique body he was moſt perfect in.

OF HIS CIVIL GOVERNMENT

So expert in the management of affairs, as he knew the beſt wayes of ariving to his ends, and the beſt means to faciliate thoſe ways. In foreſeeing harme and danger ſo vigilant and circumſpect, he was above all circumvention and ſurprize; ſo quick and ſuddain in preventing them, as taking all occaſion from danger and opportunity from harm, if a day would ſuffice, he allow'd them not an hour; if an hour, not a moment; then

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of so deep inſpection, he ſaw into the very interior of men and buſineſſes, and could trace deſign and intereſt to its very den, notwithſtanding all its turnings, windings, and doublings, and if he met with a body ſtrong and robuſtous, ſuch as the *Army*, he knew preſently how by juſtly proportioning their Exerciſe and Regiment to preſerve them in perfect health and vigor ſtill: If with ſuch as the *States*, weak, craſie and infirm, newly recovered from a dangerous malady, and without much care in danger of relapſe, no Phyſitian was ever carefuller nor tenderer of his patients health then he; now with gentle purges weakning its ſickneſſe force, and now with cordials ſtrengthning its health agen, untill he perfectly reſtor'd it unto health,

health, as he had done it long ere this, would it either have believ'd that it was ſick, or not believ'd a ſort of Mountebanks vainely promiſing to make it well.

Then for the people, none ever knew their natures and diſpoſitions better then he.

OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.

Men impatient of intire ſervitude, and as incapable of intire Liberty; frighted with ſight oth' rod, but mutinous in feeling it; none talking more of Liberty, nor underſtanding it leſſe then they; more troubling themſelves, then heads, with their grievance, conſidering nothing, but repining at every thing; bold talkers, and contented ſo you ſuffer them but to talk; above all, moſt tenacious of their Liberty of Conſcience, rather to follow every new

new fangled opinion, then remain constant to the old.

This considered, he framed a *Militiæ*, more to quiet, then molest and trouble them; warlike in appearance, but peaceable in behaviour, nowhere intrenching on their Liberties, but where they intrench'd on the priveledges of Government, allowing them their dear liberty (or licence rather) of their tongues, & for their chiefest darling of all, the liberty to erre in their opinions; he permitted them to follow and imbrace what sect they pleas'd, so they all concur'd in obedience to Civil Government.

This point of Policy many have wondred at, not knowing it seems, or not remembring that *Parable* in the Gospell of the good *Corn* and *Tares*; and but weak Polititians,

ans, not to understand that who intends any great Reformation, must not amuse themselves with lesser things till that perform'd once; then the greater of those, which in comparison seem'd less before, becomes the object of their Reformation, and so by degrees, till they have reform'd all; for want of which *Method*, the ignorant and rash bring all things to ruine and confusion, by plucking down more then they can build up again; and vainly imagining the best way of reforming any part, to be by the total destruction of the whole.

This was his method, mean time mens reasons could so little comprehend, as they needed their own experience to believe, how he, *Atlas*-like, could support so mighty a frame

frame and machin, all compos'd of so many different and disjoynted parts, and hinder them from slipping and falling all in pieces, which yet he did, riveting them so fast together, and making them all so firm cohere amongst themselves, as so many pieces of soft wax melted and moulded all in one, could not cleave faster in one Ball or Globe; and this was the great work he had to do, and which, had not death prevented him, he was on point of finishing: when indefatigable in body and mind, Assidual in councel, perpetually in imploy, all care and diligence, all labour and industry; he died more through care and solicitude of the Commonwealth, then either age or sickness; untimely for us, but timely for himself; (in height of all his fortunes and prosperities, having never known misfortune nor adversity)

OF HIS DEATH.

After he had refus'd the *Crown*, and acquird more glory by't then ever any did by accepting it; in which, as in all his other Actions, he might well be compar'd to *Cæsar*, both alike fortunate and victorious in war; both prudent alike in ordering the Civil Government; as many prodigies devancing tons; as to theirs death, onely their ends were different, *Cæsar* dying a violent death, he a natural; *Cæsar* satiate with living, he desirous onely to prolong his life, untill he had finished the great work he had in hand (extending in manner beyond death it self, his care and solicitude of the publique good) *Cæsar* finally leaving the Commonwealth all imbroyl'd in Civil wars through multiplicity of Competitors to the Government; he to prevent it, leaving the Government to his *Son*, out of the way of all competition,

petition; for who elſe could he have left it to? but ſome ambitious or other might ſtrait have ſtart up and ſaid, *And why not I as well as he?* now 'tis anſwer ſufficient to ſay, *He is his Son, ſo are not you*; and ſufficient to ſay of him, that he is the worthy Son of ſuch a Father, and more worthy the Government the leſſe he ſought and courted it.

One capable of all the honours of peace and war, born with the ſeeds in him both of civil and military Government, as time and occaſion will ſoon produce to light, for that only 'tis, and the office, which ſhews the man, and many had never been thought ſo fit for Government had they never governed: For example, who would ever have imagined our *Henry* the fifth, who ſeem'd only to mind his pleaſures all his youth, would afterwards have

prov'd ſo brave a man? yet we ſee how great a Souldier he became, and how occaſion was rather wanting unto him, then he unto occaſion, during his Fathers life. Or that *Spinola*, coming from a City that had more commence with *gold* then *ſteel*, ſhould the firſt day of his going to Field become an accompliſht General, and ever afterwards one of the renownedſt Souldiers of his Age. To ſay nothing of Card. *Mazzarin*, nor his predeceſſor Card. *Richelieu*, both ſuperintendants of the Arms of *France*; both by their diligence gaining more victories, then their greateſt Generals with all their experience. A man of courage as eaſily becomes a Souldier, as a wiſe man a Politique; and 'tis not the man, but the Country makes the war, and rather the *Treaſurer* then *General*; let them not be wanting to ſup-

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ply the Armies wants, and they ſhall never be wanting to bring them home victories.

And this in vindication of his Fathers leaving him the Government, which yet was rather others ſeeking then his own, and rather his obedience then command, putting no natural affection in the ſcale, in weighing the intereſt of the Commonwealth; and ſo far from partial for any intereſt of his own, as we may well ſay of him, nature it ſelf was not more natural to him then his affection to the publick good.

Neither did he this without the example of other elective States, the *Polander* ſtill continuing the Government in the houſe of *Jagalonii*, the *Germans* in that of *Auſtria*, and *Hollander* in the Family of *Naſſau* (though no leſs jealous of their liberties then we of ours) wiſely imagining a certain

tain *Owen* in that name (as we may well in that of *Cromwel*) to preserve that Liberty which it had purchaſt them; they well foreſeeing the harms and miſchiefs ſtill follow all changes of Families, when new Officers and new Houſes are introduc't, new intereſts, new factions, (to the deſtruction of the old) new humors to comply with, new Avarices to ſatisfie, ſo as if the people but rightly underſtood, how dangerous and pernicious all change and alteration is to States, they would not change although 'twere offred them, to be well, if they were but tolerably ill; nor to be better, if they were well.

HIS CHARACTER.

To conclude with his Character: he was of ſtature rather well ſet then tall; ſtrong and robuſtous of conſtitution; of viſage *Leonin*, the true phiſiognomy all great and martial men, yet as much

*Lamb*

*Lamb* in the Chamber as *Lion* in the Field, courteous, affable, and obliging to all; nor can any Records ſhew a better Child unto his Parents, Parent to his Children, nor Husband to his Wife, and no leſs a Friend to all, but thoſe who would needes make themſelves his Enemies. Bounteous of himſelf, but frugal for the Commonwealth; avoiding all ſuperfluity in a State, where ſuperfluity is counted manificence: living in the condition of a Prince with the moderation of a private man; and free from all vice, even in an Age, when he is counted a good Prince who is not altogether vitious.

Theſe were his vertues when living, and who would find any fault with him now he's dead, aſſuredly ſhall find no other (when th'ave ſought all they can) but only his leaving ſo many ill tongues

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in *England*, which yet he could not remedy, leaving them the liberty (as he did) of free born *Engliſh* men.

THE CONCLUSION.

Thus have we brought his life (in its Idea) all under one proſpect of the eye, and by brief glimpſes & reflexions given light to ſee how great a perſon he was, no humain body being ſcarcely capable of a greater ſoul; how fortune and vertue, never more concur'd to the advancement of a man; how never any paſt to the temple of honor by more directer ways, through that of his own vertue and Heroick deeds; how much he merited of *England* by his ſerving & conſerving it, in its moſt dangerous times; & finally how both at home and abroad he was the honour of our Nation, wherefore our Nation ſhould be moſt unworthy and ungrateful ſhould it not always honour him.

*FINIS.*

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